California farmers open for tourism

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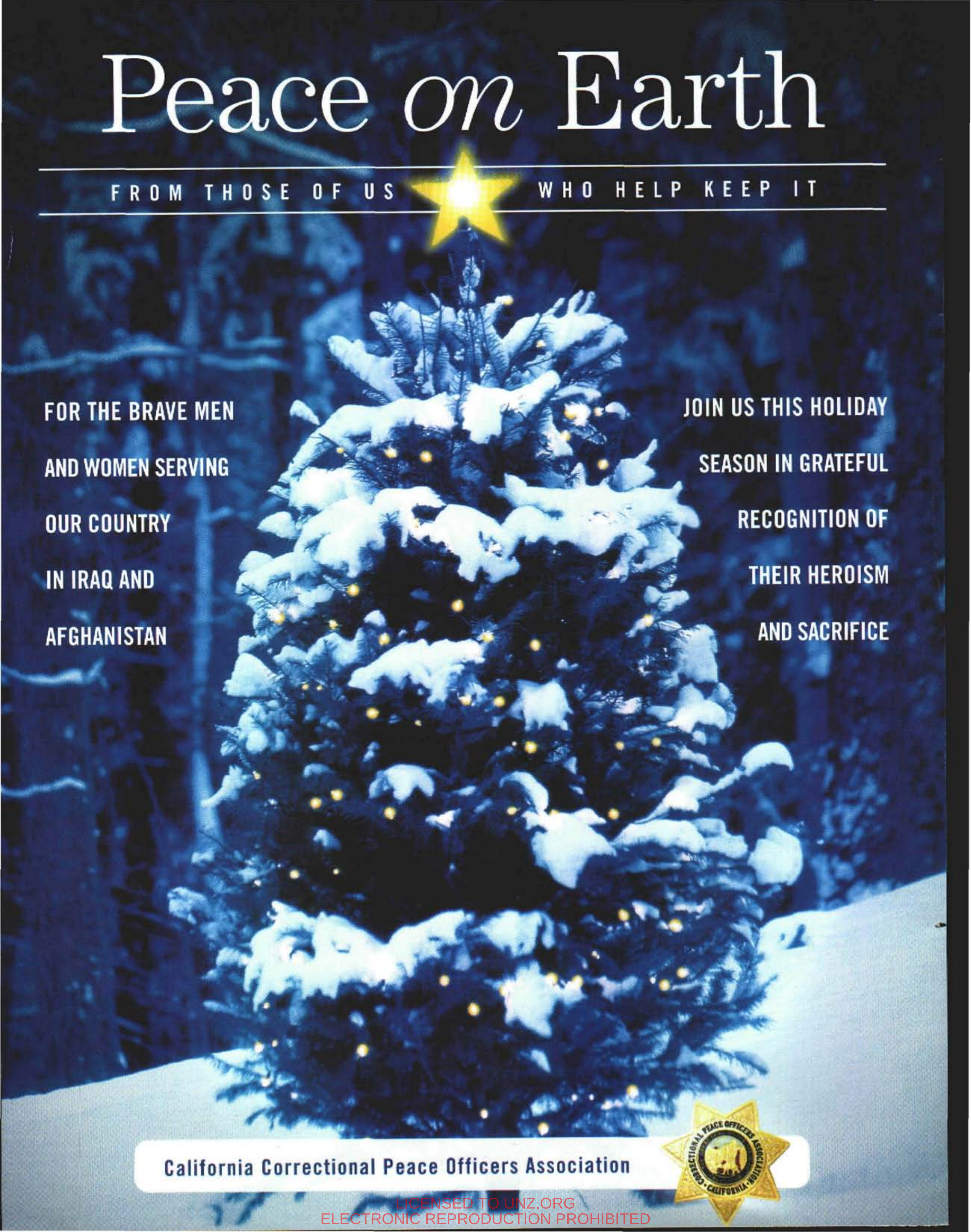
It's Legacy Time

The most colorful, controversial, powerful man in modern California politics prepares to exit.



Peace *on* Earth

FROM THOSE OF US WHO HELP KEEP IT

FOR THE BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN SERVING OUR COUNTRY IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

JOIN US THIS HOLIDAY SEASON IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THEIR HEROISM AND SACRIFICE

California Correctional Peace Officers Association

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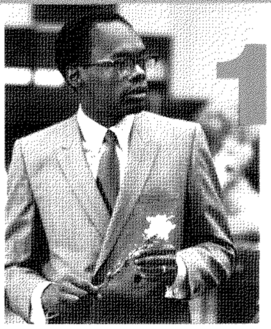

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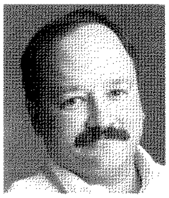


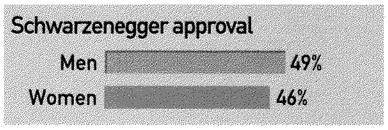
Thank goodness that's over. As 2003 comes to a close, there won't be any tears shed in Sacramento. This year was a disaster for state government. It will go down in history for the paralysis of California's leadership in a time of crisis and the revolutionary change demanded by an angry population. Now, we're about to pick up right where we started a year ago. The enormous problems facing California were clear last January when Governor Gray Davis opened his State of the State speech by saying, "Tonight, I come before you with a challenge as great as any in our state's history." Eleven months later, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger declared in his inaugural address in November that "the state of California is in crisis." This New Year will be a special one for California. We already know that the crisis is still ahead. But for now, at least, there is also an anxious hope that this time we can solve it.

Cover photo: Willie Brown inside San Francisco City Hall. Marcio Jose Sanchez, AP Wideworld Photos

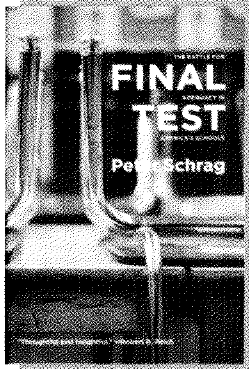
umbrage

Voting counts. There are few areas where new technology simultaneously offers more promise and peril than in voting machines. In November, Secretary of State Kevin Shelley ordered an audit of California's new touch-screen machines when he learned that one manufacturer, Diebold, had installed software into machines for Alameda and Plumas counties that was used in the recall election even though it was never certified by his office, as the law requires. When the problem was exposed, local election officials said the practice of upgrading voting machine software was even more widespread. "All of us have made changes to our software — even major changes — and none of us have gone back to the secretary of state," said Los Angeles County Registrar Conny B. McCormack. The practice is a disaster waiting to happen, said Kim Alexander, president of the independent watchdog group, California Voter Foundation. "The situation in Alameda [County] could have been a major crisis if the recall results were close" because if the software is suspect, there is no paper record to confirm the voting results. Company and local officials defended the software change because the upgrade was certified by federal authorities. But for Alexander, Shelley's announcement was a critical signal that the state is going to aggressively regulate the new technologies that are scheduled to be used by more than a third of the state's voters in the presidential primary next March. Alexander old *California Journal* last month that state safeguards were adequate to avoid the debacle seen in Florida in the 2000 presidential race. Now, she said, "My confidence has been shaken that we are not Florida."

Favorable ratings. Despite all of the allegations about Arnold Schwarzenegger groping women, a poll in November by the Public Policy Institute of California didn't find much of a gender gap in approval for the incoming governor. Forty-six percent of women respondents to the survey approved of Schwarzenegger's plans for California compared to 49% of men. Overall, nearly half of California adults approved of Schwarzenegger's plans. Interestingly, Democrats were fairly divided. Roughly, about a third approved, a third disapproved, and a third didn't know what they think. Another curious finding was that college graduates were the most undecided group at 36%. So with all of the trauma in California lately, it looks like the more you know, the more you don't know.



Final test for education



There are few thornier topics in the United States than education. And there are few writers who can translate complex ideas into compelling nonfiction like *California Journal* contributor — and former *Sacramento Bee* opinion page editor — Peter Schrag. Luckily, the topic and the writer found each other in Schrag's latest book, "Final Test: The Battle for Adequacy in America's Schools." Schrag, who wrote masterfully on California's public policy disaster in "Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future," this time turns his gaze to education policy. In "Final Test," Schrag explores the wide education gap between African American and Latino students on one side and white and Asian students on the other and writes that new strategies for teaching struggling kids "open a new frontier in education policy and ... may well establish the next arena in the battle for civil rights."

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Diry tricks:

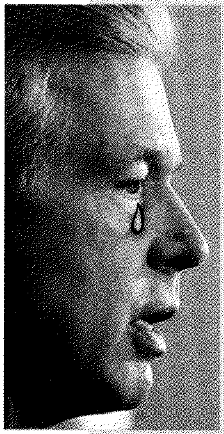
Trouble for the new gov?

Rhonda Miller, Photo:Reuters.

It's the story that won't go away. Lost in the hoopla of Arnold Schwarzenegger's swearing-in as the new governor of California was a bit of messiness from the campaign trail — and it could result in a lawsuit against the actor/governor. At issue is the way the Schwarzenegger team handled one of the now infamous groping charges levied against the actor in the closing days of the recall election. The day before the election a woman — Rhonda Miller, an extra on a couple of Schwarzenegger's films — held a press conference to accuse the candidate of sexually assaulting her on two movie sets in the 1990s. According to published reports, later that day, Schwarzenegger campaign aides e-mailed reporters to encourage them to check online court documents that showed drug, prostitution and theft charges against a woman named Rhonda Miller. After the campaign provided the information, several media outlets went with the story including *The New York Sun* and the MSNBC show, "Scarborough Country." But there was a problem — it was the wrong Rhonda Miller. When the *Sun* later contacted a Schwarzenegger spokeswoman, she declined to comment on the story. Days before Schwarzenegger's induction as governor, the real Miller's lawyer told the *Sun* there would likely be a lawsuit soon.

Emotion:

Feelin' gray

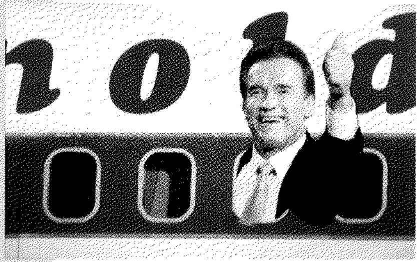


With one administration coming in and another packing boxes, you'd expect there would be a few tears shed. But when it's Gray Davis' administration that's leaving, you would expect the tears to be cried by the staff, not the governor. Well, you'd be wrong. A week before leaving office, Davis dedicated the governor's suite of Capitol offices — the horseshoe — to former Gov. Edmund "Pat" Brown. On hand were members of the Brown family, including former Gov. Jerry Brown. When asked if it was bittersweet wrapping up his duties, Davis got emotional, his eyes getting moist and stammering in his answer: "Well, I can't think of a better way to wrap it up than to honor, uh, to honor Pat Brown." Then, after turning his back to the crowd and cameras to compose himself, Davis turned back around and, after a moment, said, "Period."

Travel:

The jet-setting new gov

The world is a lot different from the one when former Gov. Gray Davis was seen on commercial fights from Sacramento to Los Angeles and back. In the weeks leading to his inauguration as governor, Arnold Schwarzenegger took unannounced trips to Las Vegas for a bodybuilding competition (no, he wasn't a participant); Sun Valley, Idaho, where he owns a house; and Hawaii, where he vacationed with his family. Obviously, it is much easier for Schwarzenegger to slip out of state than previous governors — the former actor uses a private jet. Thus far, no one has criticized the new governor for spending his vacation money out of California when the state needs it the most. Talk about driving business out of the state.



Quotables.....

"Let's work together, and let's have a good time doing it."

— Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger,
at inaugrual luncheon with lawmakers, November 17

SPECIAL BLEND
FRESH CIDER
HANDMADE CANDY
Farm Pack
FRUIT BUTTER and PRESERVES
TAMALE PLATE
STOP HERE 4 the BEST PIES

Small California farmers are turning to agricultural tourism as a way to make up income lost in a bad economy.

By Jim Evans

On a crisp autumn day in Northern California, a scene is playing out at Davis Ranch in the foothills outside of Sacramento, that's repeating itself on more California farms every year.

The parking lot is jammed with mini-vans and SUVs, presumably from more urban climes. Kids run all over the property with reckless abandon, amid a backdrop of Christmas trees that will be gone come late December. And parents, pushing shopping carts, peruse rows of fresh vegetables in a makeshift outdoor grocery store.

On this day in the tiny town of Sloughhouse, the city is coming to the country. And more and more, California urbanites are doing the same thing.

GOING TO

This should be a good sign — more Californians want to connect with nature, wildlife and the lands from which their food comes. But for the small farmers, it's also a sign of the times. Faced with a sagging economy and little help from the federal or state government, they're supplementing their income with agricultural tourism.

Defined simply, agricultural tourism refers to ordinary people who visit a working farm or ranch for enjoyment, entertainment, retail shopping or any other vacation-type of activity. In the past five years, more small farmers have turned to agricultural tourism — small farm watchers estimate that there are about 1,000 California farmers who engage in some sort of tourism-type business.

THE COUNTRY

Cutting down a Christmas tree at a local farm has become a yearly event for some families.

Chances are, if you've driven along the California countryside, you've seen examples of what farmers and ranchers are doing to attract urbanites onto their lands. Some have the traditional "u-pick" orchards — where kids can go into the fields and return with a bushel of fruit — like the farmers in Northern California's Apple Hill. Others, like Davis Ranch in Sloughhouse, allow visitors to chop down their own Christmas tree or pick their own Halloween pumpkin. Still others let city dwellers get a taste of rural living by milking cows, shearing sheep or even driving cattle.

To even the successful farmers, turning to agri-tourism can be difficult to swallow. George Work, a third-generation cattle rancher in the central coast town of San Miguel, says as much. Work, whose family runs a working ranch that also caters to hunters, horseback riders and other outdoor adventurers, estimates that agri-tourism makes up a third or fourth of his net income. Still, he says he understands why some farmers wouldn't initially take to the idea.

"I had a little twinge at first," Work says. "You have to admit that you can't make it in your chosen profession."

That may sound bleak, but to many small farmers it's reality. What agri-tourism offers them is a chance to continue farming — which in the end is the important thing for many. Once farmers decide they'll do anything to continue farming the land, they see there is pent-up demand for other services they could provide.

"Yes, some people are downright upset it has come to this. I've heard farmers say, 'I didn't go into farming to be a Disneyland,'" says Desmond Jolly, director of the Small Farm Center at the University of California, Davis. "But people have a need to learn about nature and wildlife, and people have a need to learn where their food comes from."

Farmers being squeezed

There are no hard numbers of how much California small farmers make from agri-tourism. Jolly, who has studied the subject since the mid-'90s, says he believes the figure to be from $50 million to $75 million a year, and growing rapidly. That figure, he says, excludes the winery business.

Jolly has become something like a Pied Piper of California agri-tourism. Through grants mostly from the United States Department of Agriculture (the first of which came through the 1996 farm bill), Jolly and his group have studied the subject and have tried to educate small farmers on the possibilities through workshops and books.

Jolly, a UC Davis agricultural economist, says he realized that agri-tourism could be a legitimate option for some farmers because many were squeezed between a commodity market that often produces so much product that prices fall rapidly and a rising cost of doing business.

A day in the country includes stopping to pick apples at a local farm.

> **"Our biggest support was from the environmental community. They want to preserve open space — and if you keep a farm on the land, it'll prevent housing from going there."**
> **— George Work, cattle rancher**

"Demand for commodity prices is somewhat finite," Jolly says. "But the demand for services is infinite."

It's a lesson Work, in particular, takes to heart. Work points to millionaire Dennis Tito, who paid the Russian government millions to take him into space as an example of how far some people will go to find an experience unlike their own. On Work's central coast cattle ranch, where he raises cows to sell for slaughter and sells hay, his daughter-in-law leads horseback trail rides, and he leads hunting expeditions for tourists who come from all over the world.

While Work has provided a hunting service for about 30 years, the power of agri-tourism hit him while he and his wife, Elaine, visited New Zealand and Australia in the mid-'90s. Throughout the trip, they stayed on farms with families who would provide meals along with goods and services. With his kids out of the house and a bunch of empty rooms, Work asked his county if he could provide the same kind of service as the ranchers in New Zealand. The answer came back "no." State regulators demand that hotel and bed-and-breakfast operators have commercial kitchens and other amenities that made the service Work proposed impossible.

But Work kept banging away, eventually getting to the point of not "asking if we could do it. I started asking how we could do it."

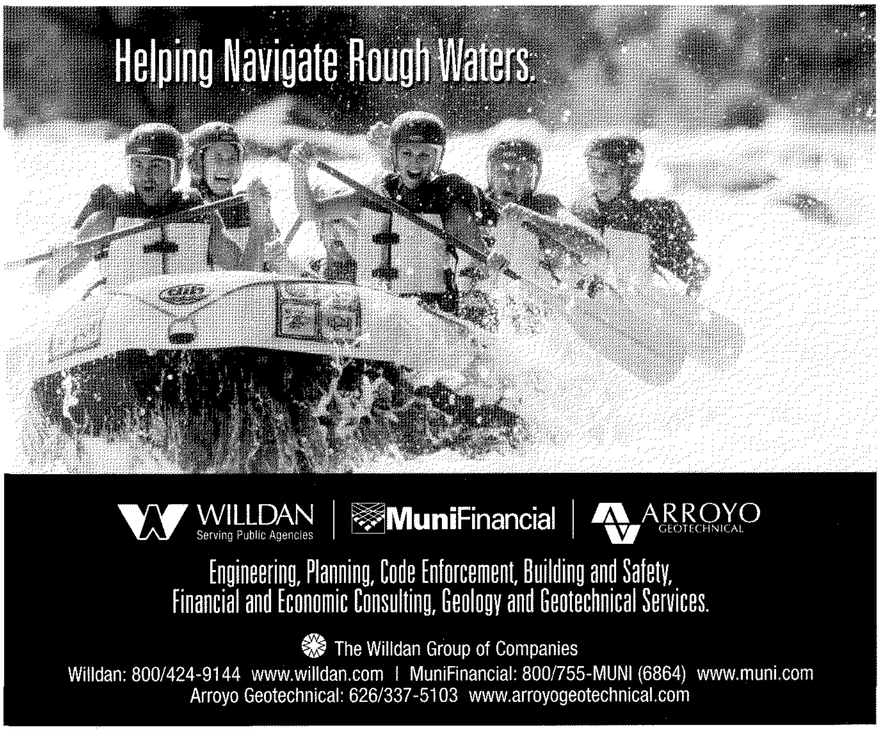
The answer was taking the request to Sacramento. In 1998, Work found a lobbyist with Community Lands with Family Farms who helped him sell his idea for "farm-stays" to then-Assemblymember Virginia Strom-Martin (D-Duncans Mills). Strom-Martin introduced the legislation — AB 1258 — in 1999, and later that year Governor Gray Davis signed the bill.

The only threats to Work's idea were the various hotel and restaurant associations, but in the end, they didn't oppose the bill. Much of the institutional support of the measure came from an unlikely source.

"Our biggest support was from the environmental community," Work says. "They want to preserve open space — and if you keep a farm on the land, it'll prevent housing from going there."

In fact, according to a May 2001 report by the Agricultural Issues Center of the University of California, the state lost approximately 500,000 acres of farmland to urban development between 1988 and 1998.

Where Work ranches — the central California coast — is one of the most organized agri-tourism regions in the state. The growers in the area started a group — called the Central Coast Agritourism Council — that meets monthly and coordinates with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the various local tourism officials to draw visitors, who are ostensibly there to visit Hearst Castle or Pismo Beach, to the farms and ranches as well.

Much of the work that the officials do there on agri-tourism seems driven by a desire to keep the central coast the way it is — rural and scenic.

"I grew up in Southern California and saw what happened there," says Baxter Boyington, with the San Luis Obispo Visitors and Conference Bureau. "I love this county they way it is with all its agricultural nature — I'm selfish; I don't want it to change."

Coming to the country

A unifying theme that runs through most agri-tourism business is that city dwellers are seeking a "simpler and more natural experience," says Ellen Rilla, UC Cooperative Extension director for Marin County. "There's a disconnect for people about where the food comes from."

Rilla, who runs workshops for farmers and ranchers interested in setting up an agri-tourism business to supplement their income, says it's important to be in a region that's either somewhat near an urban center (for day trips) or in an area where people are traveling. But even in a perfect location, there are still hurdles both personal and regulatory.

Many farmers, Rilla says, are not used to having people on their land, and many don't have the personalities that can adapt to a more social, service-based business. George Work agrees.

"Agri-tourism isn't for everybody," he says. "Some people just don't want to be in that class."

Work says, however, that the more threatening problem is from rising costs and state regulations, most of which protect the health and safety of visitors on commercial property. The costs of doing business, he says, rise with each legislative session.

For example, this year — through the budget — the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection imposed "fire suppression fees" for private landowners in "state responsibility areas." SRAs are lands that are covered wholly or in part by timber, brush, or other vegetation that serves a commercial purpose (such as rangeland or timber harvesting) or that serves a natural resource value (such as watershed protection).

To solve the regulatory problems, small farm advocates like Jolly suggest that if state policy-makers could see in agri-tourism a solution for other problems, the hurdles could be overcome.

"If policy-makers see that there is a wide range of options [such as agri-tourism] that could contribute to maintaining open space, they could be more flexible with regulations," Jolly says.

But until that happens, many California small farmers will likely continue to fight upstream, doing anything they can to continue working with the land. That's a story that hasn't changed in centuries.

"California farmers are smart, savvy people," says Bob Krauter of the California Farm Bureau. "If surviving means trying new methods, new crops or looking at other ways to do business, they'll do it to keep farming."

Jim Evans is managing editor of California Journal. *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Deus ex machina

by Susan Rasky

***Deus ex machina* — god from the machine, noun:**

1. A device in ancient Greek and Roman drama, a god introduced by means of a crane to unravel and resolve the plot.

2. Any active agent who appears unexpectedly to solve an apparently insoluble difficulty.

For Republicans who despaired of their party ever finding its way back to the governor's office, Arnold Schwarzenegger was, almost literally, the *Deus ex machina.*

Already, the political consultants who helped shape his campaign are setting up shop in Sacramento and Los Angeles, the better to run initiatives or projects that might further the new governor's agenda and presumably his re-election campaign in 2006. And already, some Republicans are bold enough to think aloud about moderate GOP candidates making real inroads in the Legislature.

Encouraged by Schwarzenegger's vote-getting power in Democratic Assembly districts — where, according to an Assembly Republican analyst, he won a plurality in at least 17 and an outright majority in five — they see a chance to rebuild the party in the next three years so that moderate candidates are positioned to run and win in swing districts. If Schwarzenegger is serious about putting redistricting in the hands of an independent commission, there might even be a few such districts by 2012.

Assuming a less ambitious strategy, Schwarzenegger's victory came too late this year to have any real effect on the recruitment of candidates for 2004. But should he choose to, the governor could have a significant role in recruiting and campaigning for moderates in 2006. Wilson tried it in 1992 in a handful of key legislative races but lost most of them and spent the rest of his first term trying to keep his right flank at bay. On the other hand, Wilson was a mere pragmatic centrist, not a god from the machine.

And the whole point of lowering an actor from heaven on a crane is that the ordinary rules don't quite apply. For a legion of budget experts and reformers, many of them Democrats, that means Schwarzenegger offers the first hope since Prop. 13 passed 25 years ago to untangle some of the policy knots that have contributed to the state's fiscal mess. None of the possible re-distribution of sales and property taxes floated by he governor's staff even before his inauguration or the vague hints during the campaign about a willingness to tweak Prop. 13 itself deal with the more immediate problem of an ongoing structural deficit in the neighborhood of $14 billion in the coming budget year and at least $10 billion a year thereafter.

Presumably, such pesky details await the formal presentation of the governor's budget next month and, more important, the negotiating atmosphere Schwarzenegger is able to create as he and the Legislature finally focus on dividing pain. Unsaid, but very much implicit in the calculations of all parties to the budget debate, is that Schwarzenegger is the only (pardon the expression) actor in the process who could succeed in raising taxes. What and how he trades for that unique ability will tell us a lot about whether he can govern and about how much retooling Democrats need to do between now and November. The number of Democratic legislators, including Sen. Jackie Speier (D-Hillsborough), a probable candidate for lieutenant governor, who reversed themselves on issuing driver's licenses to illegal immigrants is a hint of things to come.

> Schwarzenegger is the only (pardon the expression) actor in the process who could succeed in raising taxes.

The key point is that when "politics as usual" gets interrupted, for partisans and interest groups alike, plotting strategy for the next election cycle or two becomes tricky. In terms of 2006 Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls, that would explain at least the initial public musings of Atty. Gen. Bill Lockyer about why he voted for Schwarzenegger.

It would explain why Treas. Phil Angelides, in sharp and no doubt intended contrast, has been publicly aggressive in opposing the sale of a giant bond to finance budget deficits. It might explain why Controller Steve Westly is backing a bipartisan initiative that in effect would create a nonpartisan state primary, and it would explain why Hollywood director Rob Reiner is having long discussions with political consultants.

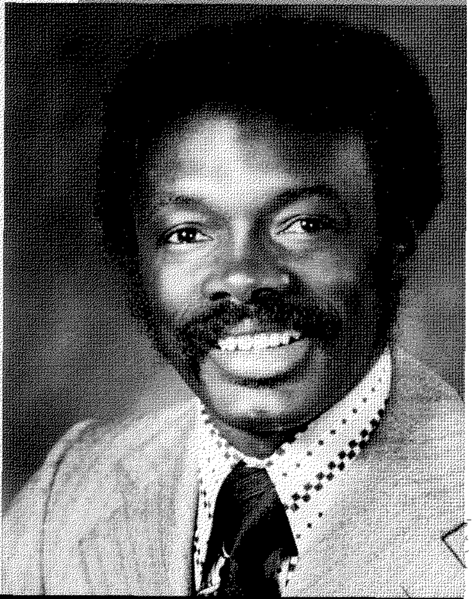
Other names get tossed about, mostly for the sake of naming them — Insurance Comm. John Garamendi, U.S. Rep. Jane Harman, even Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante, although it seems hard to imagine how he comes back from the crushing defeat in October.

Deus ex machina, Democrats?

Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to **comments@californiajournal.com**

Willie Brown is the last of a breed, and he's preparing his exit after nearly 40 years in elected office. Just don't ask him about the legacy question.

By James Richardson



Photos Clockwise: Photo used when Brown first ran for the Assembly, 1975; Brown after the deciding vote that elected him Assembly Speaker, 1980. Photo: Rich Pedroncelli; Brown with Tom Bates on his last day as speaker, 1995. Photo: Rich Pedroncelli; Brown with Pete Wilson after difficult 1992 budget negotiations that put government at a standstill for 64 days. Photo: Rich Pedroncelli

TALK ABOUT A

Willie Brown stepped off the train on August 4, 1951, a black kid from rural Texas joining the throng of African Americans flooding the Bay Area that summer from the South. He wore a white shirt, khaki pants, and carried all of his earthly possessions in a cardboard suitcase. Neither California nor his wardrobe has been the same since.

Brown has been a fixture in California for so long it is hard to imagine the political landscape without him. His rise to power is remarkable; he grew up in Depression-era racially segregated East Texas, the product of a small black school and a family of gamblers and bootleggers. In many ways, he is as much an immigrant to California as Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Brown arrived in the Golden State with far fewer advantages, starting with the color of his skin.

Willie Brown has been around California politics so long, he is among the few current officeholders who served with Governor Brown — that is, Governor *Pat* Brown. Another way of looking at his extraordinary political longevity: The man Brown has endorsed to be his successor in this month's election for mayor of San Francisco is Gavin Newsom, a 36-year-old who was born during Brown's *second* term in the Assembly.

Brown has survived, even flourished, through every political tidal wave of the last half-century, from the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s, to the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s and early '70s. As chairman of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee, Brown presided over tax policy at the advent of Proposition 13. In 1980, he was elected speaker of the California State Assembly with the crucial support of Republicans, and he reigned for nearly 15 years as the self-proclaimed "Ayatollah of the Legislature" — the longest serving speaker in state history. He fought off coups in his own party, and the only election he ever lost was his first, in 1962, for the Assembly seat he won two years later.

LEGACY

Nothing could bring him down, nothing except term limits.

Voter approval of term limits — which he calls the "anti-Willie Brown law" — forced him from Sacramento, but he reinvented himself as the mayor of California's most urbane and sophisticated of cities, San Francisco. Brown will soon have served two full terms as mayor, and will leave his term-limited office in January.

"Yes, it's been an incredible ride," he remarked this fall. His departure from public office represents the end of a political era marked by his brand of showmanship and deal making. He plans to return to private law practice and to raise money for a Willie Brown Institute that will educate politicians in the arts of raw politics and pubic policy.

"I don't discuss legacies. ... I haven't been around long enough to have a legacy." — Willie Brown

Through it all, Brown has been a mixture of political huckster and inside fixer. Few could match his oratorical skills on the floor of the Assembly, or his grasp of legislative tactics and maneuver. He could fill any room with his charm and exuberance, but he could also slash an opponent down to size with his biting sarcasm and searing intellect. For his friends, he doled out campaign cash and favors; for his enemies, he could crush them in a frightening fury.

In private, he counseled governors from Reagan to Schwarzenegger, and presidents from Reagan to Clinton, with a creative originality increasingly rare in politics. Yet in public Brown frequently displayed a thin skin that is remarkable for someone who has endured so many political battles in so many arenas.

What was it all about, this amazing political show that the writer John Jacobs once labeled "Willie Inc."? What did Willie Brown stand for? What did he accomplish in 40 years of public life? What did it all mean?

As Brown prepared to leave office, I interviewed him for about 45 minutes in his ornate chambers on the second floor of San Francisco's gold-gilded City Hall. I have known Brown since I was a 19-year-old UCLA student working in George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign in California, a campaign Brown ran with an iron fist. Later, as a journalist, I interviewed Brown countless times over the years, most extensively for a book I wrote about him that was published in 1996.

When I interviewed Brown in November, it had been three years since we had talked. Breezing in 15 minutes late, running true to form, Brown ushered me into his elegant office filled with framed photographs and art. Brown is a bit more portly than he was in his Sacramento days; what little hair he has is appreciably grayer. The day we talked, Brown wore a dark blue pinstripe suit as he settled into a chair behind a desk stacked with Manila folders.

The phone rang frequently; our conversation was interrupted by calls from, among others, his friend and former legislative crony Mike Roos, and presidential candidate Richard Gephardt, calling on a cell phone from somewhere in the Midwest. Presidential wannabes have been calling Brown since Robert Kennedy in 1968, and Brown offered Gephardt an earful of free advice, but no endorsement.

"Oh, everybody we know calls," Brown said, hanging up. "In the course of a given day if you sit around here, you'd think you were still at Comedy Central in Sacramento. Everybody calls in. You'll hear [Senate President Pro Tem John] Burton screaming about something, [Assembly Speaker Herb] Wesson, [political consultant] Gayle Kaufman — someone will be calling. We are never out of touch with each other."

It is no easy task to take Brown out of the swirl of phone calls, ribbon cuttings, committee meetings and restaurants to get him to reflect upon his life and career. He resists such efforts at introspection with all his might. He once said that he considered himself to be a work of art adorned with expensive clothes. The same might be said about his political career — he thinks of it as a work of art that speaks for itself. So when I asked him about his "legacy," it was no

Left: Brown talking to Republican Charles Imbrecht with Speaker Leo McCarthy at podium, 1982. Photo: Deborah Goldstein. Above: Brown speaking to Berkeley students while on campus for an Afro-American conference, circa 1973. Photo: Bancroft Library.

surprise when he got testy.

"I don't discuss legacies," he replied. "I think legacies are best done by people who never knew the person they are writing about, total strangers, many, many years after the person has passed on. ... I haven't been around long enough to have a legacy."

Pressing further, I asked if there was a single issue, or a single guiding principle to his career. He answered: "I can't think of any single issue or principle that would define me."

Were there multiple issues or principles?

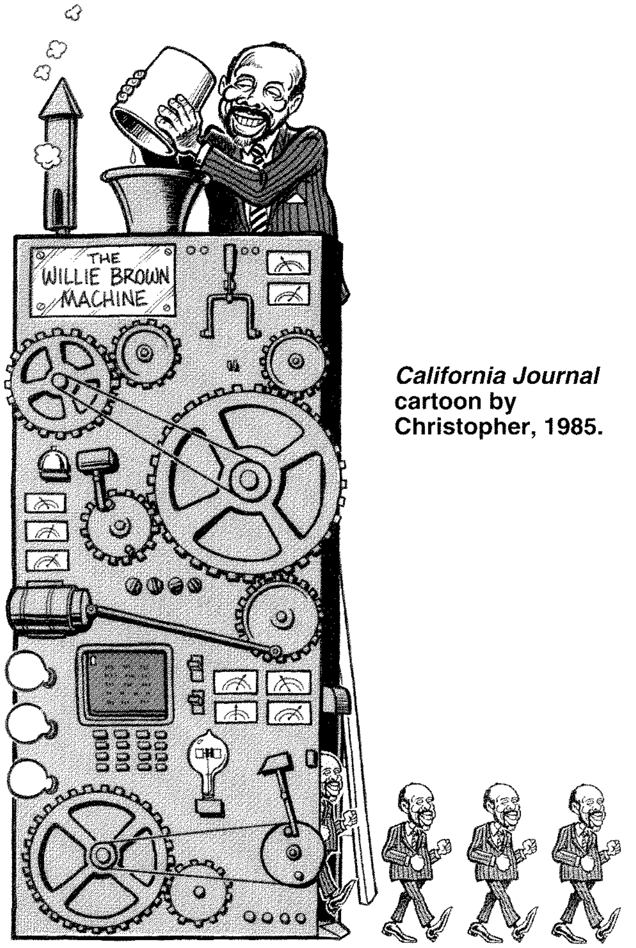
"I wouldn't even want to hazard. I wouldn't even want to invade the area because I am sure that I would not be comprehensive, and possibly misunderstood."

I have heard those kinds of replies from him in the past, and they have always puzzled me. It is as if he is in such rapid motion all of the time that he finds it excruciatingly difficult to slow down long enough to see where he has been and what he has stood for. He has therefore made it easier for his harshest critics — for example, the left-wing *Bay Guardian* and its ideologically transparent writers or the right-wing smear artists of the Republican Party — to argue that Brown has stood for nothing but his own power and pleasure. And there have been times when it has been hard to argue to the contrary. During his Sacramento years, Brown certainly fudged the ethical line, if not the law, with his lucrative law practice serving clients who also happened to be supplicants for legislation in Sacramento.

Brown's legacy, in reality, is more complex than either Left or Right could ever admit because both Left and Right have been the beneficiaries of Brown's considerable talents. Brown's legacy is a shared legacy with Republican governors George Deukmejian and Pete Wilson, and with the most progressive wing of the Democratic Party. How Brown held the contradiction together is probably the most remarkable and little appreciated feat of his career.

Essentially, Brown made *The Deal* with Deukmejian and Wilson. Sometimes *The Deal* was explicit with a piece of legislation or a budget bill; at other times *The Deal* was tacit, understood in the winks and handshakes of professional politicians. In its broadest strokes, *The Deal* was this: Brown gave the Republicans their most cherished items: balanced budgets, stable taxes, reduced welfare, stiffer criminal laws and a prison-building program unparalleled in scope from any in American history.

In return, progressive Democrats won environmental and health protection laws, broadened affirmative action and protected their core political base: teachers unions and trial lawyers. Brown created opportunities for other politicians to make policy, whether it was long-sought recycling laws by Democrats or three-strikes-you're-out sentencing laws by Republicans. Deukmejian and Wilson got prisons; Maxine Waters got a bill pulling California out of all investments in apartheid South Africa, and Deukmejian signed the bill. Standing

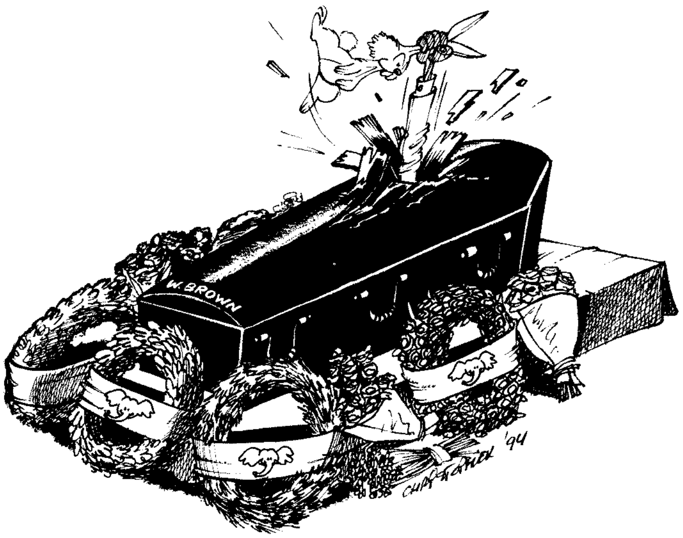


***California Journal* cartoon by Christopher, 1985.**

Brown campaigning for San Francisco mayor, 1995. Photo: Rich Pedroncelli.

behind all of it, every inch of the way, was Willie Brown. *The Deal* held together for nearly two decades until Brown and Wilson left Sacramento.

"I played a role and enjoyed playing a role," Brown recalled. "I still believe that it is far more important that something get done than my taking credit for it."



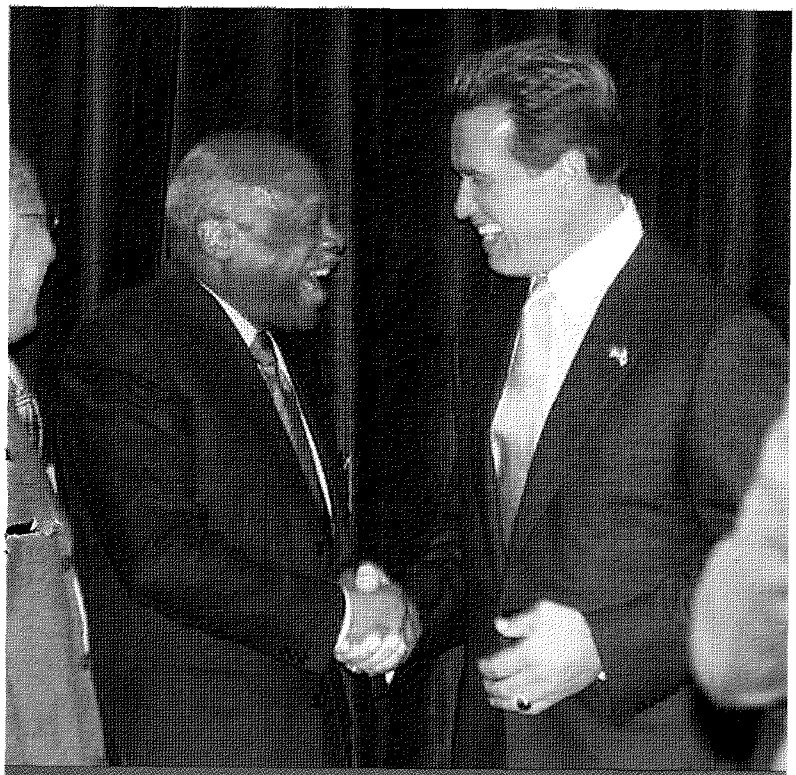
California Journal cartoon by Christopher, 1994, when Willie Brown resurrected his speakership.

There was, of course, a ying to this yang. Brown's style of deal making is the very essence of "politics as usual" that Schwarzenegger lambasted as he swept Gray Davis from office. Brown was long gone from Sacramento during the recall election of 2003, but the bad taste from his brand of politics endured; *The Deal* that had held everything together was long dead, crushed under the weight of an amateurish (and some would say greedy) Legislature and a ham-handed (and some would say timid) governor.

That the Legislature has declined in power is certainly the product of term limits, and term limits certainly are a major hallmark of Brown's legacy. Brown, who wielded so much power as speaker, must bear major responsibility for the Assembly's ultimate decline. When Schwarzenegger, in his first foray into the Capitol, was photographed towering over a short and rumpled Speaker Herb Wesson, it was the symbolic culmination of a power shift to the executive branch that began when the voters approved term limits and chased Willie Brown from Sacramento.

When we spoke recently, Brown had a few days earlier given his final "State of the City" address as mayor — he billed it as his "last speech" — and he looked backward for a time, comparing his tenure as speaker with being mayor.

"There was absolutely no earthly reason why I would



Brown with Arnold Schwarzenegger at a meeting of the governor's transition team of which Brown was a member, Sacramento 11/03. Photo: Reuters.

ever leave the Legislature," he said in his speech. "It was a perfect venue for my kind of politics and my kind of skills and abilities. I absolutely abhorred the idea that I would have to fix a pothole, or I would have to try to settle a dispute between dog walkers, dog owners and soccer moms. Nothing of that nature ever interested me; utter disdain for that position. The Legislature was where the action was.

"I must tell that in spite of my absolute love for my 31 years in the Legislature there is nothing that compares with eight years as the mayor of San Francisco."

He rattled off, in mind-boggling detail, his mayoral accomplishments, ranging from day-care centers opened and street lights installed, to sprucing up the Embarcadero and constructing a new baseball stadium for the Giants.

In our interview a few days later, Brown warmed to my asking him to compare being speaker with being mayor.

Being mayor was "the most enjoyable eight years of my political existence," he said. "In the Legislature, it was all theory. Yes, I know I did the seatbelt bill, and yes I know the Highway Patrol reports a minimum of a thousand lives saved and untold reduced number of injured people. But I never met one of them."

In San Francisco, "every child-care center that I built, I met the beneficiaries; every change in the compensation for the home health people from the minimum wage they were receiving ... they come and say thank you. You interact with them. So the fact that I am at the retail level, versus the wholesale level, makes a hell of a difference. The social life, in terms of hanging out with your colleagues, was better in Sacramento. Yes, we had better — you really do have a better crowd of elected officials in Sacramento than you have at the local level by light years. That does not offset the joy of instant satisfaction in your executive position."

Before we parted, I asked him if he had any regrets about not returning to Sacramento to take the Senate seat held by Burton, who will term out of office in 2004. The political arithmetic would have been difficult for Brown; he would have had to run in Marin County, and he would have had to run against his friend and ally, Carole Migden, in a Democratic primary. Brown declined to run, telling his friends and supporters, "I know you can stay on the stage far too long." Instead, he will fatten his bank account by resurrecting his law practice, put on hold while he was mayor.

Still, the idea of Willie Brown sharing the same Capitol with the action hero-turned-governor seemed full of endless entertaining possibilities. I asked if he had any second thoughts about not returning to Sacramento for the Schwarzenegger era.

"None at all," he replied. "I think the world has changed so dramatically that my skill set would either have to be totally retooled to be effective, or maintain as is, and I would simply be another old guy who comes back to enrich his pension. And I don't want to do that."

James Richardson is a former writer with The Sacramento Bee *and is the author of "Willie Brown: A Biography" (University of California Press, 1996). He lives in Sacramento. Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

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“IT’S ABOUT SAVING

In his inaugural address as the 38th governor of California, Arnold
message included a warning to lawmakers about “politics as
“join me in a new partnership.” Here is the text of his

My fellow Californians, I am humbled, I am moved, and I am honored beyond words to be your governor. To the thousands of you who came here today, I took this oath to serve you. To others all across the state — Democrats, Republicans, independents — it makes no difference — I took this oath to serve you.

To those who have no power, to those who’ve dropped out — too weary or disappointed with politics as usual — I took this oath to serve you. I say to everyone here today and to all Californians, I will not forget my oath, and I will not forget you.

Let me first thank Governor Davis ... for a smooth transition. There’s been a spirit of mutual respect and cooperation, and I thank you for that.

My fellow citizens, today is a new day for California. I did not seek this office to do things the way they’ve always been done. What I care about is restoring your trust in your government. When I became a citizen 20 years ago, I had to take a citizenship test. I had to learn about the history and principles of our republic. What I learned and what I’ve never forgotten is that in a republic, sovereignty rests with the people, not the government.

In recent years, Californians have lost confidence. They’ve felt that the actions of their government did not represent the will of the people. This election was not about replacing one man or one party. It was about changing the entire political climate of our state. Everywhere I went during my campaign, I could feel the public hunger for our elected officials to work together, to work openly and to work for the greater good. The election was the people’s veto of politics as usual.

With the eyes of the world upon us, we did the dramatic. Now we must put the rancor of the past behind us — and do the extraordinary.

It’s no secret that I’m a newcomer to politics. I realize I was elected on faith and hope. And I feel a great responsibility not the let the people down.

As soon as I go inside the Capitol behind me, I will sign my first order as governor. I will sign Executive Order No. 1 — which will repeal the 300 percent increase in the car tax. I will issue a proclamation convening a special session of the Legislature to address California’s fiscal crisis. I will issue a proclamation convening a special session to reform our workers’ compensation system. I will call on the Legislature to repeal SB 60 [the driver’s license bill]and I will work to reform government by bringing openness and full disclosure to public business.

I will enter this office beholden to no one except you, my fellow citizens. I pledge my governorship to your interests, not to special interests. So I’ve appointed to my Cabinet Republicans, Democrats and independents because I want people to know that my administration is not about politics. It’s about saving California.

The state of California is in crisis. As I’ve said many times, we spent ourselves into the largest budget deficit in the nation. Next year we will have the highest unemployment insurance costs in the nation. And we have the worst business climate in the nation. But even though these problems are staggering, they do not compare to what Californians have to overcome in the past. Our state has endured earthquakes, floods and fires. The latest fires destroyed lives, homes, businesses and devastated hundreds of thousands of acres of the land we love. On behalf of my fellow citizens, I salute all those who served on the front lines of the battle. Firefighters, emergency workers, National Guard, law enforcement officials and thousands of volunteers. As we watched the firestorms raging, we saw bravery that never faltered and determination that never wavered in a fight that never flagged. To the families of those who gave their lives and those who lost their lives, your loss is ours. As Californians, we mourn together, we fight together, and we will rebuild together.

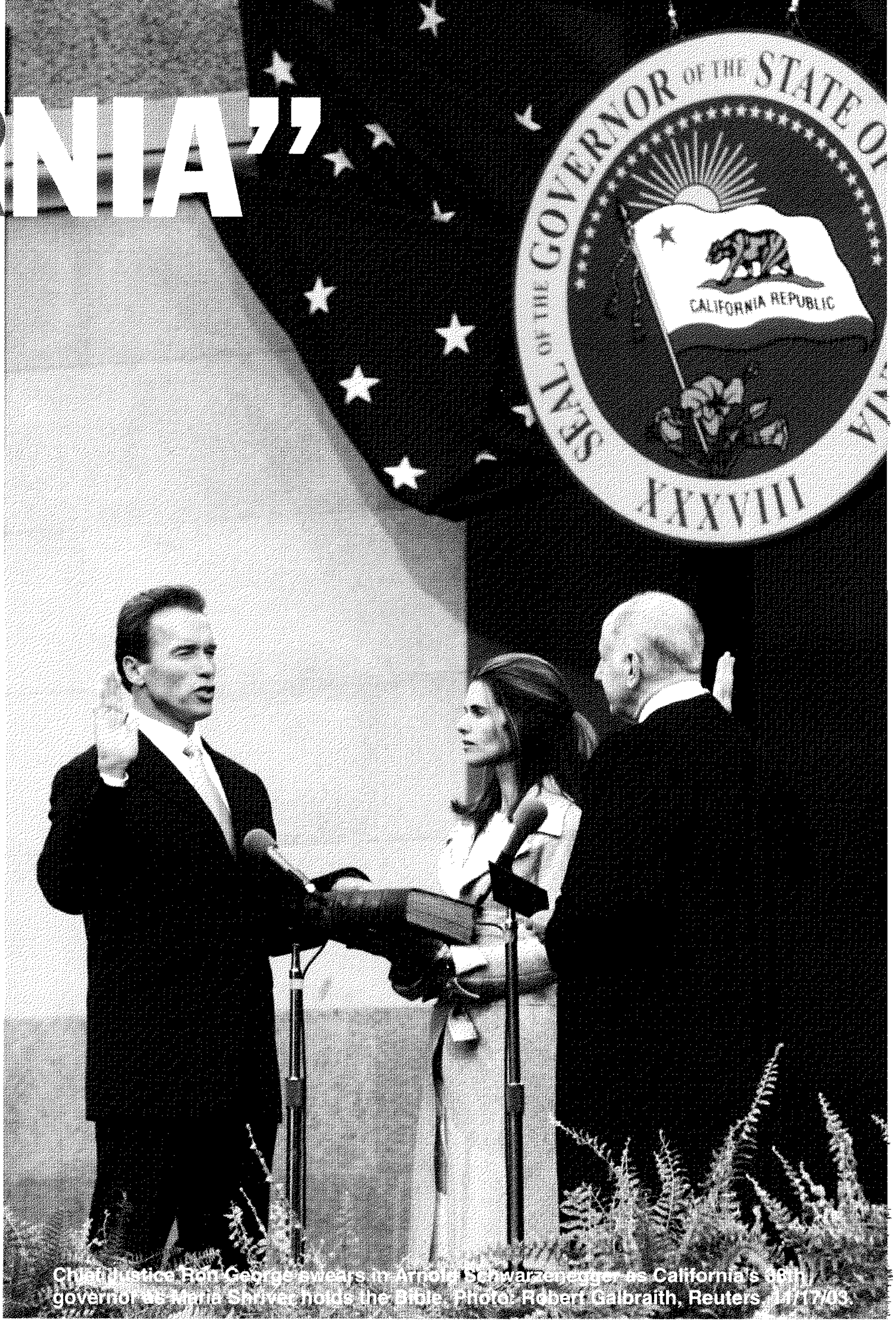
And just as California will come back from the fires, we will also come back from fiscal adversity. I know there are some who say that the Legislature and I will never agree on solutions to our problems. But I’ve found in my life that people often respond in remarkable ways to remarkable challenges.

In the words of President Kennedy, “I’m an idealist without illusions.” I know it will be hard to put aside years of partisan bitterness. I know it will be hard to overcome the political habits of the past.

But for guidance, let’s look back in history to a period I studied when I became a citizen. The summer of 1787. Delegates of the original 13 states were meeting in Philadelphia. The dream of a new nation was falling apart. Events were spiraling downward. Divisions were deep. Merchant against farmer. Big states against small. North against

CALIFORNIA”

Schwarzenegger’s two-fisted
usual” as well as an appeal to
speech on November 17, 2003.



Chief Justice Ron George swears in Arnold Schwarzenegger as California’s 38th governor as Maria Shriver holds the Bible. Photo: Robert Galbraith, Reuters 11/17/03.

South. Our Founding Fathers knew that the fate of the union was in their hands, just as the fate of California is in our hands.

What happened in that summer of 1787 is that they put their differences aside and produced the blueprint for our government: our Constitution. Their coming together has been called “the Miracle of Philadelphia.”

Now, the members of the Legislature and I must bring about “the Miracle of Sacramento” — a miracle based on cooperation, good will, new ideas and devotion to the long-term good of California.

What we face may look insurmountable. But I learned something from all those years of training and competing. I learned something from all those sets and reps when I didn’t think I could lift another ounce of weight. What I learned is that we are always stronger that we know. California is like that, too. We are stronger than we know. There’s a massive weight we must lift off our state. Alone, I cannot lift it. But together, we can.

It’s true, things may get harder before they get better. But I’ve never been afraid of the struggle. I’ve never been afraid of the fight, and I’ve never been afraid of the hard work. I will not rest until our fiscal house is in order. I will not rest until California is a competitive job-creating machine. And I will not rest until the people of California come to see their government as a partner in their lives, not a roadblock to their dreams.

Today I ask all of you to join me in a new “partnership” for California. One that is civil and respectful of our diverse population. One that challenges each and every one of us to serve our state in a joyful, productive and creative way. Ladies and gentlemen, I have an immigrant’s optimism — that what I learned in citizenship class is true: The system does work. I believe that with all my heart.

I have big hopes for California. President Reagan spoke of America as “the shining city on the hill.” I see California as the Golden Dream by the Sea.

Perhaps some think this is fanciful or poetic, but to an immigrant like me, who, as a boy, saw Soviet tanks rolling through the streets of Austria; to someone like me who came here with absolutely nothing and gained absolutely everything; it is not fanciful to see this state as a Golden Dream.

For millions of people around the world, California has always glimmered with hope and glowed with opportunity. Millions of people around the world send their dreams to California with the hope their lives will follow.

My fellow citizens, I have taken the oath to uphold the Constitution of California. Now, with your help and God’s, I will also uphold the dream of California.

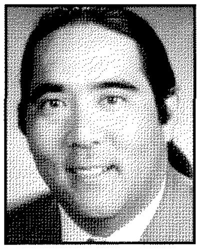
God bless you, and God bless California.

Cabinet

Finance Director, Donna Arduin

Arduin has been serving since January 1999 as the director for the Florida Office of Policy and Budget, where she formulated the governor's policy recommendations and negotiated with the Legislature to enact his budget policies. Arduin served in similar positions in the states of New York and Michigan when both states were running budget deficits. A graduate of Duke University, Arduin earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in economics and public policy. She has worked in New York and Tokyo in the private financial markets. Arduin is a Republican.

Secretary of Food and Agriculture, A.G. Kawamura



Previously, Kawamura served as chair of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Foreign Agricultural Service's Agricultural Technical Advisory Committee for Fruits and Vegetables. He is also the past chairman of Western Growers Association, has served as president of the Orange County Farm Bureau and is a past member of the California Strawberry Commission. Kawamura, 47, is a founding partner of Orange County Produce, LLC, where he manages the company's 600 acres of growing and harvesting operations. His family farming operation consists of several noncontiguous parcels of land in Orange County, San Bernardino and San Diego. He began his agricultural career as a beekeeper and a roadside stand operator, and then entered the family business as a produce salesman for Western Marketing Company in 1978. Kawamura graduated from UC Berkeley in 1978 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Comparative Literature, English and Spanish. Kawamura is a Republican.

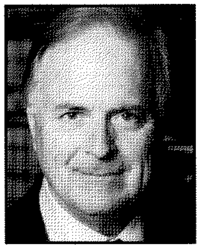
Secretary of Business, Transportation and Housing, Sunne Wright McPeak

McPeak has spent the last six years as president and CEO of the Bay Area Council, where she led major regional initiatives that involved transportation, housing, sustainable economic development, water policy, communications infrastructure, education and workforce preparation. Previously, McPeak served three years as president and CEO of the Bay Area Economic Forum, a partnership formed by the Bay Area Council and the Association of Bay Area Governments to facilitate public-private collaboration for promoting the regional economy. McPeak also served on the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors for more than 15 years, serving as chairman for several terms. She has also owned a management consulting firm and served as executive director of the Pittsburg Community Health Center. McPeak, 55, earned her Master of Public Health degree from UC Berkeley and her bachelor's degree from UC Santa Barbara. McPeak is a Democrat.

Secretary of Environmental Protection, Terry Tamminen

Tamminen, 51, has close to 30 years experience in environmental issues and most recently served as the executive director of the Environment Now Foundation in Santa Monica, a private foundation dedicated to protecting, preserving and restoring the environment of California. Tamminen also founded Santa Monica Baykeeper and was its executive director for six years. He also co-founded Waterkeeper programs in San Diego, Orange County, Ventura and Santa Barbara. Tamminen attended California State University, Northridge and the University of Queensland, Australia. Tamminen is an Independent.

Secretary of Education, Richard Riordan



Riordan, a Republican, was elected mayor of Los Angeles in 1993 and re-elected in 1997. Prior to becoming mayor, Riordan was a businessman and attorney, forming the law firm of Riordan and McKinzie. Riordan is a Republican.

Secretary of Health and Human Services, S. Kimberly Belshe

Belshe, 43, served as director of the California Department of Health Services and deputy secretary for the California Health and Welfare Agency under the Wilson administration. She served as chief policy and legislative director to former U.S. Senator Pete Wilson. Most recently, she served as the program director for The James Irvine Foundation, a multipurpose organization dedicated to expanding opportunities for the people of California to participate in a successful and inclusive society. She has participated in numerous public and civic activities, including serving as vice chairman of the California Children and Families Commission, where she led the effort to improve oral health for young children.

Secretary of Youth and Adult Corrections, Roderick Q. Hickman

Hickman, 47, has nearly 25 years of experience in the corrections field. Most recently, he served as Department of Corrections chief deputy director of field operations. During his tenure at the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency, Hickman served as assistant deputy director and regional administrator. Previously, he served in a number of capacities, including warden at Mule Creek State Prison, correctional administrator of the California Medical Facility, and other correctional training and leadership positions throughout his career. Hickman attended University of Southern California; California State University, Chico, Long Beach and Stanislaus; and University of California, Berkeley. He has also received numerous law enforcement and correctional training credentials. Hickman is a Democrat.

Secretary of Resources, Mike Chrisman

Chrisman was Southern California Edison's region manager for the San Joaquin Valley since 1996. Previously, he served as undersecretary for the California Department of Food and Agriculture and deputy secretary for operations/legislation for the California Resources Agency. He was staff director for the Assembly Republican Caucus and served as chief of staff and adviser on agriculture, water and environmental issues to then-Assemblyman Bill Jones. Chrisman also has been a partner in a family farming operation including walnuts and beef in Tulare County since 1966. Chrisman is vice president of the California Fish and Game Commission, immediate past chairman of the Sequoia-Kings Canyon National Parks Foundation, chairman of the Great Valley Center and member of the board of directors of the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation. He is past president of the Agricultural Leadership Associates, former member of the Central Valley Regional Water Quality Control Board and past director of the California Farm Bureau Federation.

Staff Appointments

Chief of Staff, Patricia Clarey

Clarey, a Republican, was deputy campaign manager on the Schwarzenegger for Governor campaign. Prior to joining Schwarzenegger, Clarey served as vice president at Health Net, Inc. She served in senior levels for the Department of the Interior under the Reagan administration and was former Governor Pete Wilson's deputy chief of staff.

Cabinet Secretary, Marybel Batjer

Batjer has served as Nevada Governor Kenny Guinn's chief of staff since December 2000. Previously, Batjer was undersecretary for the California Business, Transportation and Housing Agency during Governor Pete Wilson's administration and served as deputy director for the California Department of Fair Employment and Housing. During President George H. Bush's administration, Batjer served as special assistant to the president for national security affairs. She also served as assistant to the secretary of defense and the deputy Secretary of Defense under President Ronald Reagan. A graduate of Mills College, Batjer earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in administration legal processes and continued her graduate studies at Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies where she studied international public policy.

Deputy Chief of Staff, Cassandra Pye

Pye, a Republican, served 12 years at the California Chamber of Commerce. Most recently, she was vice president of corporate affairs, and has held positions ranging from director of education to vice president of public affairs and political director. Pye has also held positions at the California Retailers Association, the Food Marketing Institute and the California Grocers Association.

Deputy Chief of Staff, Garrett Ashley

Ashley, a Republican, most recently worked as executive director of TechNet-Orange County, a high-tech political advocacy association. Prior to TechNet, Ashley served as chief of staff to U.S. Congressman Steve Kuykendall, worked as chief deputy director at the California Office of Emergency Services and was deputy director of advance for Governor Pete Wilson.

Senior Advisor, Bonnie Reiss

Reiss, a Democrat, served as president of the Inner-City Games Foundation and is a founding director of Arnold's All-Stars, a California nonprofit organization providing after-school programs to middle schools. In June, she worked with U.S. Education Secretary Rod Paige to organize a national After-School Summit, hosted by Schwarzenegger and Paige.

Chief Deputy Director of the Budget, Michael Genest

Genest, a Republican, most recently served as the director of the state Senate's Republican fiscal office and chief budget adviser to Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte and the Republican caucus. Genest began his career working for the Legislative Analyst's Office in 1981 before moving to the Department of Social Services. He has also served as an assistant deputy director at the California Department of Health Services and as chief executive officer reporting to the state health officer.

Deputy Director of Legislation for Finance, David Harper

Harper, a Republican, most recently was the principal consultant for the committees on appropriation and budget in the state Senate. He has also served as a principal program budget analyst in the state Department of Finance, and as a consultant for the committees on appropriation and budget for the state Assembly. Harper has also worked in the Department of Transportation.

Deputy Director for External Affairs for Finance, H.D. Palmer

Palmer, a Republican, most recently was communications director for the state Senate Republican caucus, and served as assistant director of finance for former California Governor Pete Wilson. Palmer has also worked as policy director and communications director for Idaho Governor Dirk Kempthorne, and served as a spokesman for U.S. Senators S.I. Hayakawa and John Seymour of California and Jim McClure of Idaho.

Legislative Secretary, Richard Costigan

Costigan, a Republican, most recently was VP of governmental relations and chief lobbyist for the California Chamber of Commerce. Prior to joining the Chamber, he served as lobbyist and senior adviser at the law firm of Manatt, Phelps & Phillips. Costigan was chief of staff for the office of the Assembly Republican leader under two leaders and also served as director of policy.

Chief Deputy Legislative Secretary, Cynthia Bryant

Bryant, a Republican, most recently served as legal counsel to the Assembly Republican Caucus and as deputy chief administrative officer and legal counsel to the Assembly Rules Committee.

Undersecretary of the Environmental Protection Agency, James Branham

Branham, a Republican, most recently served as the director of external relations for the Pacific Lumber Co. Prior to that post, Branham served in positions as the undersecretary for California Resources Agency, chief deputy director to the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection and as a staff member in the State Senate.

Deputy Secretary, Law Enforcement and Counsel for EPA, Maureen Gorsen

Gorsen, a Republican, was most recently a partner at Weston, Benshoof, Rochefort, Rubalcava, MacCuish LLP. Gorsen previously served as general counsel for the California Resources Agency under Governor Wilson.

Legal Secretary, Peter Siggins

Siggins, an independent, was most recently the chief deputy attorney general for legal affairs in charge of all the legal work of the California Department of Justice. Before that, Siggins was the senior assistant attorney general in charge of the correctional law section of the AG's Office.

Chief Deputy Legal Affairs Secretary, Paul Dobson

Dobson, a Republican, has spent 23 years in the Office of the California Attorney General, in both the criminal and civil divisions, handling major litigation, which included challenges to initiatives and a suit against the federal government for the costs of illegal immigration. Dobson also worled seven years at the private firm Neilsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller & Naylor in Sacramento.

Interim Director of the Department of Motor Vehicles, Chon Gutierrez

Gutierrez, who is registered as decline-to-state, has been chief assistant secretary of state since 1999. Prior to his time at the Secretary of State's Office, he was chief financial officer of the Department of Business, Transportation & Housing from 1991-99. He has also held leadership positions at the California State Lottery, the Youth & Adult Correctional Agency and the Department of Finance.

Communications Director, Rob Stutzman

Stutzman, a Republican, was co-communications director for the Schwarzenegger for Governor Campaign and founding partner of CommandFocus, a communications firm in Sacramento, where his clients included the California Republican Party. Stutzman served as communications Director for Attorney General Dan Lungren. Prior to the AG's office, Stutzman served in the office of the minority leader in the California State Senate.

Press Secretary, Margita Thompson

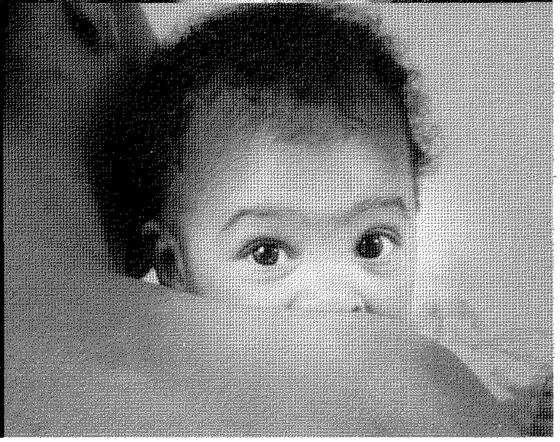
Thompson, a Republican, was most recently political producer for CNN's "Larry King Live." Thompson worked for Pete Wilson while Wilson served in the Senate and as governor. Thompson also worked on the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign, the Bush-Cheney 2000 campaign and in the Office of the Vice President, where she was press secretary to Mrs. Cheney. In 2002, she directed communications for the Riordan for Governor campaign.

Appointments scorecard*

Women	**10**
Men	**15**
Republicans	**19**
Democrats	**3**
Independent	**3**
Ex-Wilson staff	**7**
Total appointments*	**25**

* as of 11/20/03

amily planning services provide essential, cost-effective healthcare for Californians



Family planning services receive a 90/10 federal match — 90% of our most important services are funded by federal dollars! For every 10 cents the state spends on family planning, it receives 90 cents from the federal government, making family planning among the most cost-effective services the state offers.

Funding for family planning services saves California money. For every $1 spent on family planning, an estimated $4.48 is saved in future medical and social service costs through the prevention of unintended pregnancies.

The Family PACT program is a family planning program designed to create universal health coverage for low-income residents of California and serves more than 1.7 million clients per year. Family PACT provides comprehensive family planning services including contraception, STI testing and treatment, cervical cancer screenings, and pregnancy testing and counseling.

> "As a single mother, it's hard enough to manage daily expenses, let alone health expenses. I'm grateful for all the options at Planned Parenthood. Without them, I don't know where I would go."
>
> *Anonymous patient*
> *age 26, San Diego*

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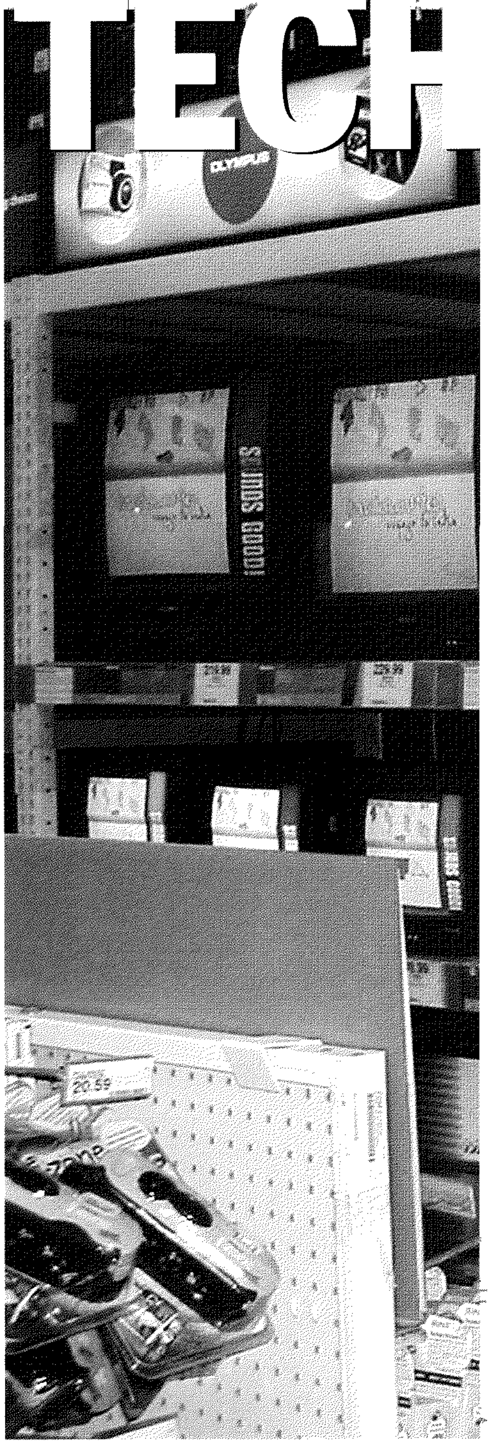
TRASHING TECH



Computers have so many toxic materials that they are banned from household landfills. But that means they're piling up elsewhere. Now, California has the nation's first plan for a comprehensive electronic waste recycling program.

By William J. Kelly

Speers TV in South Pasadena is the typical neighborhood electronics repair business. The busy shop is crammed with broken televisions and computer monitors that the owners have opted not to fix after learning of the expense.

Across the state, environmental officials estimate there are some 6 million broken-down televisions and computer monitors — each containing between 5 and 8 pounds of toxic lead — stockpiled in homes and businesses like Speers for lack of enough places and programs to properly recycle them.

In fact, electronic waste — including televisions, computers, computer monitors, printers, cell phones, stereos, microwaves, fax machines, and anything else with a circuit board or cord on it — constitutes the fastest-growing category of municipal waste. Californians alone buy more than 3 million televisions and 5 million computer monitors a year and discard some 10,000 computer monitors and televisions a day, according to California Environmental Protection Agency data.

Until the Department of Toxic Substances Control banned disposal of televisions and computer monitors in landfills in 2001, state households and businesses used to be able to simply discard the devices in their daily trash. People also gave them to collectors, some of whom commonly shipped them to China, where people making pennies a day, even children, broke them apart to recover their precious metals and burned the remains in open fields, polluting air and water and causing ill health in many rural villages, according to an investigation by the Basel Action Network and Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition.

However, recycling advocates and state environmental agencies are now hopeful that such problems are about to end, at least in the Golden State. Earlier this fall, former Governor Gray Davis signed into law the first legislation in the nation to lay the foundation for a comprehensive electronic waste recycling program.

"It's a great start," said Ed Lowry, executive director of the Department of Toxic Substances Control, which will have a major role in administering the new law. "However, it covers cathode ray tubes only."

Lowry — whose agency has been testing other electronic products for toxicity — is finding that many devices have enough lead and copper in them to be classified as hazardous waste. He is hopeful that the

NOLOGY

TOSHIBA
SOUNDS GOOD!
DAEWOO
Panasonic
FRAGILE
Memorex
13" TV
HOME with Bu
DVD
13"

TVs and other electronics for sale at a Southern California Target. Someday, someone will throw them away. Photo: Bill Kelly

Legislature eventually will amend the new law to cover a wider range of electronic devices that at this point continue to fall through the cracks and may wind up in landfills. "It's going to be up to us to show this works so that we can move to address the totality of electronic waste," he said.

The new law resulted from the passage of SB 20, which Senator Byron Sher (D-Palo Alto) sponsored. It will require Californians to pay a recycling fee of between $6 and $10 beginning July 1, 2004, on new electronic devices that have cathode ray tubes at least 4 inches diagonally, which mostly includes televisions and computer monitors. Retailers are to remit the fee on mail order and Internet sales too. The California Integrated Waste Management Board will use the money to fund local electronic waste collection and recycling programs.

The law also requires the Department of Toxic Substances to adopt regulations by 2007 that will ban electronics manufacturers from selling products in California that do not meet forthcoming European Union standards, which are expected in 2006. The European standards will limit the amount of toxic materials, including metals and toxic fire-retardant chemicals, in electronic products.

There are several other provisions in the new law. Any company that exports electronic waste will have to demonstrate to the toxics department that it is recycled in conformance with environmental and worker safety standards set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Firms that violate any standards under the new law will face fines, and recyclers that export waste irresponsibly also will face a cutoff of state financial support. State agencies will have to purchase electronics that meet environmental criteria to be set by the waste board by mid-2005.

Speers TV SALES and SERVICE Since 1955
FOOTWEAR
CHUCK'S
917 FAIR OAKS AVENUE
TV·VCR·COMPUTER REPAIRS

Speers TV in South Pasadena, a typical neigborhood electronic business. Photo: Bill Kelly

> **"You can have all the services in the world, but if nobody knows about them, they won't do any good."**
> **— Wayne Omokawa, recycling program manager**

The recycling fees, according to Lowry, will help the state build up an infrastructure of electronic waste collection and recycling programs. "There will be more collection places and more consumer education," he said.

While the fees will not cover the costs of collecting and recycling devices everywhere in the state — which can run up to $35 per device — Lowry believes that as the program becomes established, it will produce economies of scale that will bring down the overall cost of recycling.

The funding will be particularly helpful to small cities and counties that have been struggling to deal with electronic waste up until now, said Wayne Omokawa, electronic waste recycling program manager for the city of Los Angeles, which started one of the first collection programs in the state in 2000. "We take everything with a cord on it," said the former salesman whom the city hired to run its program.

However, Omokawa said he doubted that the recycling fees outlined in the new law will pay the full cost of collecting and properly recycling and disposing of electronic waste due to the overhead of operating a collection program, including the public outreach and advertising costs involved. "You can have all the services in the world, but if nobody knows about them, they won't do any good."

Los Angeles collects electronic waste at its household hazardous waste roundups, which are held in different parts of the sprawling city twice a month. Recently, the city has been setting up a series of stationary collection facilities that are open every weekend to make it more convenient for people to drop off their waste. Omokawa said the permanent facilities should lower the cost of collecting electronic waste by eliminating the setup and logistical costs involved in the roving roundups.

As the electronic waste program evolves, the law calls on the waste board and toxics department to monitor its cost and adjust the recycling fees every two years, beginning in 2006. "I would [expect] the fee to go up to cover the full cost of recycling," said Mark Murray, executive director of Californians Against Waste, which pushed for the bill.

Ironically, the bill does not place financial responsibility for recycling discarded products on electronics manufacturers, which Governor Davis insisted upon when he vetoed a bill in 2002 that would have funded recycling through consumer-paid fees on new devices. "It let the producers off the hook," said David Wood, executive director of the Grass Roots Recycling Network, in Madison, Wisconsin. "It doesn't require them to internalize costs."

Yet even Wood — who blasted the legislation while Davis was considering whether to sign it — admits that the law is a good first step. As other states and the federal Environmental Protection Agency ponder federal electronic waste recycling standards, California has again become the first in the nation to come to grips with a serious and newly realized environmental problem.

William J. Kelly is editor of California Environment Report, *found online at www.southlandreports.com. Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Appointments:

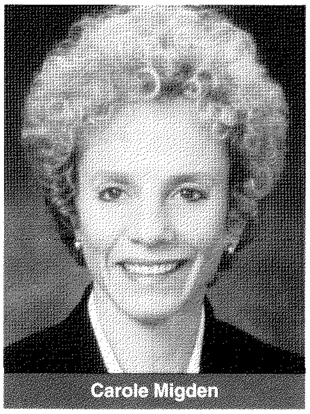
Department of soft landings

Lynn Schenk

It's a time-honored tradition for governors to appoint staffers to lucrative state posts on their way out of office. And on his way out of the governor's office, former Gov. **Gray Davis** didn't upset the tradition — he ensured some of his staff wouldn't be out of work. Among his appointments: Davis senior adviser **Nancy McFadden** and press secretary **Steve Maviglio** to the Unemployment Insurance Appeals Bd. for $114,000-a-year; chief of staff **Lynn Schenk** and appointments secretary **Michael Yamaki** to the California Medical Assistance Commission for $99,000-a-year; cabinet secretary **Daniel Zingale** and policy analyst **Michael Bustamante** to the Agricultural Labor Relations Bd. for $114,191-a-year; deputy chief of staff **Vincent Harris** and foreign affairs aide **Michael Flores** to the Gambling Control Commission for $114,191-a-year; chief of Davis' Los Angeles office **Eric Bauman** to the Bd. of Prison Terms for $99,693-a-year; and adviser **Tal Finney** to head the Office of Administrative Law for $117,396-a-year. Overall, in the last weeks of his term, Davis appointed 102 people to boards and commissions, including the names above. According to reports, the state Senate worked out a deal in which 17 out of the 102 appointments would be approved when new Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger took office.

Campaign watch

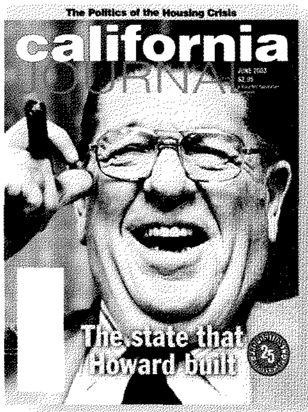
Termed-out mayor of San Francisco **Willie Brown** will not run for SD 3, currently held by termed-out John Burton. That clears the way for Democrat **Carole Migden** — who's currently serving on the Bd. of Equalization — with little opposition. Only Peace and Freedom Party candidate **Ian Grimes** is challenging Migden. ... Former Democratic Assm. **Tom Umberg** is back and running for his old Assembly seat, AD 69. Umberg represented the district from 1990 to 1994 but left to run for insurance commissioner. Other Democrats in the race include: **Armando de la Libertad** and Santa Ana Councilwoman **Claudia Alvarez**. The Democratic winner will face one of two Republican businessmen — **Reuben Ross**, who lost to Lou Correa for the seat in 2002, and **Otto Bade**. With only one Assembly term left, Umberg already plans to run for Senate in 2006. ... Two Republicans are challenging former Assembly minority leader **Dave Cox** in the March primary for the SD 1 seat. Amador County DA **Vernon Pierson** and small business owner **Christopher Schneider** will take on Cox. ... The question of who'll be the Republican to take on Democratic U.S. Sen. **Barbara Boxer** in 2004 is still wide open. As of November, only three Republicans had signed up: **Toni Casey**, former mayor of Los Altos Hills; **Tony Strickland**, Republican assemblyman; and **Rosario Marin,** former U.S. Treasurer. U.S. Rep. **David Dreier** declined to run. ... The race for AD 21 got even more interesting when Republican **Steve Poizner**, a Silicon Valley entrepreneur and education reform advocate, announced he was running for the seat. Poizner's announcement raised eyebrows because **Reed Hastings**, a prominent Democrat and president of the State Bd. of Ed., endorsed him immediately. The seat is being vacated by two-term Democratic Assm. **Joe Simitian**, who is running against former Assm. **Ted Lempert** for the SD 11 seat. Poizner is the lone Republican in the primary. Thus far, the Democratic field is crowded with a number of local government officials. ... The only two Republicans who talked of running for AD 20 dropped out in November, leaving the traditionally Democratic seat open to one of five local officials: **Henry Manayan**, former Milpitas mayor; **Dennis Hayashi**, former Dept. of Fair. Employment and Housing director; **Tom Pico**, mayor of Pleasanton; **Alberto Torrico**, Newark councilman; and **Ash Bhatt**, San Francisco Public Utilities commissioner.


Carole Migden

Reality check

The "calamity" of Proposition 13 and educational accomplishment, as put forth by Peter Schrag, ["What If Jarvis Had Never Been Born?" June 2003] needs a dose of reality. Mr. Schrag reports, "In the late 1960s, to cite the most glaring example of Proposition 13's impact on public services, California was fifth among the states in what it spent per pupil in its public schools. In the mid-1990s, it had sunk to forty-first." We all know that Proposition 13 was passed in 1978, not in the late 1960s. We all know that the total state tax revenues since 1978 have risen much faster than inflation and population growth combined, despite the Proposition 13 limits. He continues his complaint that California's school spending is "...currently about $7,000 a year here compared to over $10,000 in places like New York and New Jersey. Whether California's low test scores are the consequence of its parsimonious funding is a matter of endless debate." We all know that $7,000 per pupil translates into more than $200,000 per classroom of 30, which could hardly be termed "parsimonious." After the teacher gets $50,000, what gigantic non-performing bureaucracy is taking up the other $150,000? Proposition 13 has nothing to do with that calamity.

Carl Olson
Woodland Hills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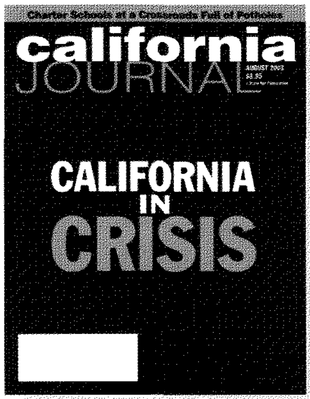

What about immigration?

I was puzzled by your list of reasons for California's crisis ["California in crisis" August 2003]. I suspect that associating with politicians around the clock has blinded your team to what is the single largest issue confronting California: unsustainable population growth, and specifically, that due to illegal immigration. Schools (with citizens at less than replacement fertility levels, our schools should be getting smaller and better); health care (workers working "under the table" get no benefits, pay few taxes and generally don't pay for health care, leaving our hospitals in serious trouble); housing (immigrants living in twice or three times the legal limit or in unapproved housing such as garages), water and power shortages, traffic — all are driven primarily or exclusively by the impact of millions of illegal immigrants.

You and the politicians may pretend there's no elephant in the room, but us folks out here paying taxes and watching the quality of our life deteriorate do not make that mistake.

Margaret M. Manning
Los Angeles

Water, water, water

Stephen Robitaille's article ["Stirring the calm waters" August 2003] was informative and timely. The article identifies the Association of California Water Agencies (ACWA) as "an urban water agencies trade group." I would point out that ACWA was originally formed to represent irrigation districts and has in more recent years included urban water agencies. The Urban Water Institute, Inc. for the past 10 years has included city water departments, urban water districts, related consulting firms, privately owned and investor owned utilities, and a few irrigation districts. Unlike ACWA, the Institute is not a lobbying organization but a nonprofit that has the mission of keeping its members informed on water issues.

Your companion article ["Watering the old-fashioned way" August 2003] by William Kelly was also excellent. But the statement attributed to Susan Cloke that conserved runoff "could supplant up to half of the water imported into Southern California from the Colorado River and Northern California" is excessive. Urban water consumption, particularly in Southern California, already has been cut back by a variety of Best Management Practices. More can be done, but without a denigration of lifestyle, there needs to be an additional flow from north to south and from farm to urban use. More creative measures for water transfers, without diminishing the farm economy and the provision of food and fiber is where we should concentrate.

Wayne Clark
Urban Water Institute, Inc.

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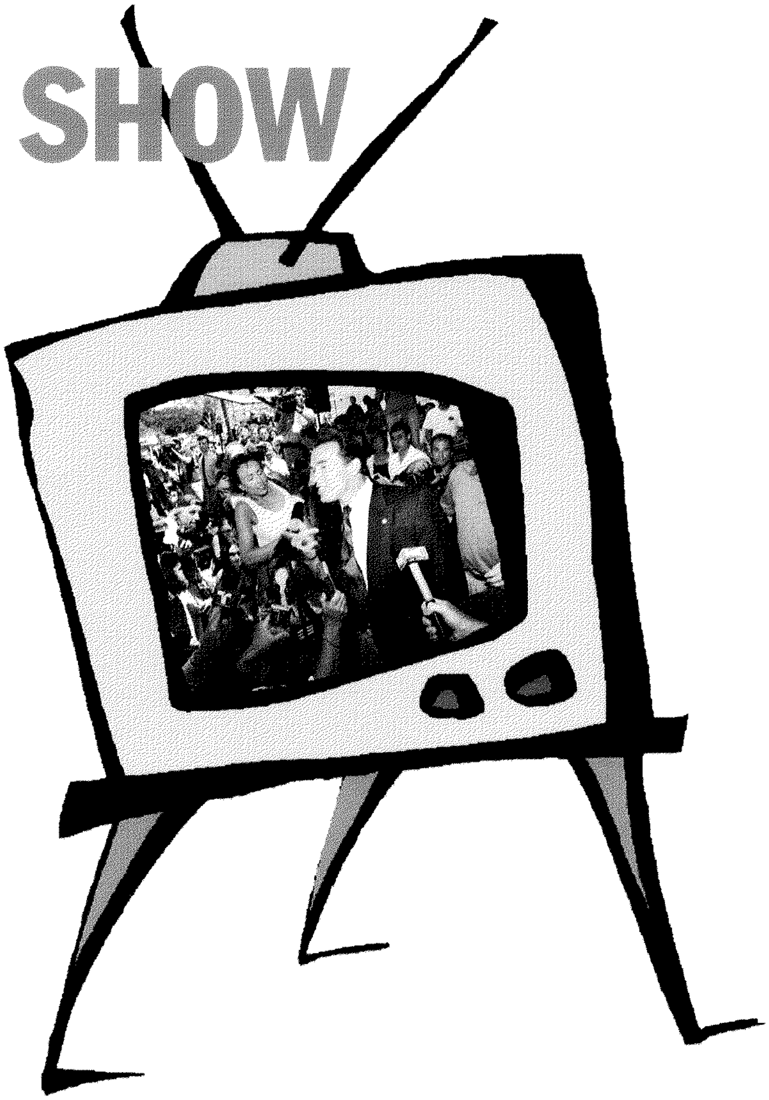
THE ARNOLD SHOW

Can Schwarzenegger turn policy and bureaucracy into interesting television?

By Lou Cannon



Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has his work cut out in trying to terminate California's structural state budget deficit without raising taxes. But he has already succeeded in shining a television spotlight on Sacramento that had been dark for years before the recent recall election that removed Governor Gray Davis from office.

It is a welcome glare.

A majority of Americans depend upon television for their news, which often means a near-starvation diet of information about state politics and government. It wasn't always so. When Pete Wilson became governor of California in 1991, he was asked what had changed most in Sacramento in the 20 years he had been away. "Television coverage is missing," Wilson replied without hesitation.

When Wilson was a young assemblyman from San Diego from 1967 to 1971, the first of Ronald Reagan's two terms as governor, as many as 10 California television stations had full-time bureaus in Sacramento in the low-technology days before the advent of mini-cameras and communications satellites. Many bureaus hung around during the two terms of Reagan's colorful successor, Governor Jerry Brown, before drifting away. The last full-time TV bureau in Sacramento closed in 1988.

"California was the poster child for a national trend," observed Gene Gibbons, managing editor of stateline.org, an online publication funded by the Pew Center for the States. Gibbons said that television coverage is minimal in most major state capitols with the exception of a few public television stations, which have a presence in states such as Maryland and Massachusetts.

Gene Rose, public affairs director for the National Conference of State Legislatures, echoed these comments. "It's a common lament that television reporters seem to have abandoned the legislatures," Rose said. Focus groups conducted by NCSL have found that participants know far more about what the president and Congress are doing than about the activities of their governors and legislatures.

Gibbons voiced hope that the coverage now being given Schwarzenegger could be "the silver lining" in a recall process that was widely feared by orthodox politicians. "Some worried that the recall might set a trend for other states," he said, "but if it produces enhanced coverage of the governor and the Legislature in California, it could have a beneficial effect."

Television stations in California may have little choice. As one Los Angeles producer, talking under condition of anonymity put it, "We gave Arnold so much coverage, good and bad, that we can't drop out now because we've help create an interest in what he does next."

This may not the best reason for covering state government, but it will have to do. One reason that the Davis recall had such popular appeal is that most Californians were unprepared for the series of crises that jolted them in recent years, starting with power outages and soaring electrical bills in 2000 and 2001. The people faulted the politicians, especially Davis, but the media also is to blame.

Founding father James Madison famously declared that "a popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both."

If television sticks around long enough in Sacramento to cover both Schwarzenegger and the Legislature, California may have better alternatives.

Lou Cannon is a contributing editor to California Journal. *His new book is* "Governor Reagan, His Rise to Power." *Send comments to* **comments@californiajournal.com**

Living the

Eric Guerra. Photos for this article were taken at the gubernatorial recall debate held at California State University, Sacramento. Photos by David Olsen.

California dream

As a child, Eric Guerra was smuggled into America with his migrant farm worker parents. This fall, after serving as student president of his college, Guerra was appointed by the governor to be a trustee for the California State University system.

By Sylvia S. Fox

When 25-year-old Eric Guerra arrived for his first meeting as a student trustee of the California State University system, he was anxious. As he drove toward a vacant parking place, he spotted a uniformed security guard approaching a little faster than he expected.

Great, he thought, nervously riffling through his papers for his official parking access card, his trustee agenda and a handful of identification cards. They're going to tell me to park somewhere else or tell me I don't belong here. He braced for questions. Instead, the guard leaned over to his window with a big smile.

"Trustee Guerra, let me get you your parking spot," the guard said.

"It was the only time I was flustered," Guerra recalled.

Since September, when he was appointed by Governor Gray Davis to one of the two student positions on the CSU Board of Trustees, Guerra has been helping set policy for the largest university system in the world. For Guerra, it is a high achievement. And for California higher education, Guerra brings a unique experience to a board that is dominated by corporate CEOs, high-ranking state officers and major political contributors.

He is the son of migrant farm workers who twice was smuggled into the country illegally so his parents could find work in the fields near Sacramento. Just two years ago, while serving as a student vice president at California State University, Sacramento, Guerra became a U.S. citizen.

"It shows where determination and a lot of hard work can get you and that the American Dream is still alive," said Debra Farar, chairwoman of the CSU Board of Trustees.

Farar said she was unaware of Guerra's personal background when she visited him on the Sacramento campus during the board's review of trustee candidates. "I deeply respect Eric," she said. "This just adds to my respect."

Guerra's father came to California as part of the Bracero Program in the late 1960s, when millions of Mexican farm workers were recruited to work as laborers and were granted U.S. work permits. He would leave his wife and two sons in Jeruhuaro in the Mexican state of Michoacan for six to seven months at a time while he earned money picking figs, peaches, oranges or tomatoes. The men returned to Mexico each fall at the end of the agricultural season. And the baby boom was nine months later.

"You had a lot of kids who were Gemini," Guerra said. He and his brother were born in late spring, almost exactly one year apart.

In 1982, when Guerra was 4 years old, his father decided to risk bringing his family across the border to join him in Esparto, a small farming town 44 miles west of Sacramento. Guerra was left one night in Tijuana with his 3-year-old brother and some other children in a run-down motel while his mother crossed the border with other undocumented adults. The children were brought across later that night, packed inside an old panel van.

"I remember my brother crying and a woman holding her hand over his mouth, hitting him to be quiet," Guerra says. "It's stayed with me."

After rejoining their parents in San Diego, the Guerra family arrived at a cold, wet downtown Sacramento bus station, dressed only in T-shirts and shorts — a shock after the temperate climate of Mexico. Two jackets bought at the old Woolworth's store downtown got Guerra and his brother their first warm clothes.

Guerra soon started school in Esparto, including summer school through the Migrant Education Program. But when he was in first grade, immigration officials warned the family they would be deported if they didn't return to Mexico. Forced to leave, Guerra's family packed into their red Ford Ranger pickup truck with an old white camper shell over the bed and returned to Mexico — after a quick

side trip to Disneyland.

Several months later, the family would return to California, once again smuggling Eric Guerra and his brother back into the United States, along with younger sister Vanessa, who had been born in Esparto. Finally, in 1986, the family became documented workers under an amnesty program passed by Congress. Even with the offer of amnesty, however, Guerra says it was terrifying for most undocumented workers to approach U.S. immigration authorities to apply for the program.

"Here you are disclosing everything about yourself," Guerra says. "But you wonder: Why should you trust the same police who have beaten you in the fields and transported you out of the country?"

Guerra graduated from Esparto High School in a class of 45 students. He participated in Boy Scouts and theatrical productions, and served as president of the local chapter of Future Farmers of America. But it was during his senior year that another life-changing event took place — a meeting with a recruiter from the College Assistance Migrants Program at California State University, Sacramento, a campus support program for migrant and seasonal workers and their children. Fifteen students attended the meeting, and three, including Guerra, applied to be students at the university.

By summer, Guerra found himself deep into college and enrolled in a bridge program to help minority students prepare for engineering studies. The program involved four weeks of math immersion by the same professor who would teach them for the next two years. Guerra says he went to sleep at night seeing numbers.

> **"He was not the best student. ... But he was sincerely dedicated to helping others, to making sure that no one was left out."**
> **— Scott Farrand, CSUS professor**

The professor, Scott Farrand, said he soon became aware of Guerra's ongoing commitment to community.

"He was not the best student. He was not the most intellectually curious. He was not the most studious. But he was sincerely dedicated to helping others, to making sure that no one was left out," Farrand said.

Soon, Guerra was immersed in campus politics through a friendship with Artemio Pimental, a former CSUS student politician, now a deputy administrator for Yolo County and a candidate for Woodland City Council in the upcoming March election.

While he was a student government representatiave, Pimental dropped in on the regular Tuesday afternoon discussion by the College Assistance Migrants Program (CAMP) to talk about the opportunities in student government and to encourage students to participate. CAMP Director Marcos Sanchez says Pimental, Guerra and others started brainstorming about campus issues, with sessions often ending at 3 or 4 in the morning.

They would also sign up students to participate in rallies, encourage them to attend board meetings of the Associated Students Inc. and talk to them about issues involving the university administration.

When Pimental was elected student president in 2001, Guerra won the post of vice president. When Guerra was elected president a year later, Pimental was elected director of California State Student Association, a statewide organization that lobbies Sacramento lawmakers for the CSU. The state student association also interviews the candidates for trustee positions on the CSU board and forwards an unranked list of recommendations to the governor.

Early one morning during Guerra's campaign for student president, he left his campus politicking to race downtown to the Crest Theatre in Sacramento, where he was sworn in as a United States citizen.

"All I could think was, this is the last INS line I'll ever have to stand in," he said, referring to the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service.

With Pimental's and Guerra's recruiting and mentoring efforts, CAMP has become an incubator for campus politicians. This year, half of the student government at CSU, Sacramento, is from the CAMP program. CAMP has also placed 26 interns in government offices in Sacramento as well as with the United Farmworkers of America office and the Univision Spanish-language television studio.

Guerra will also work in the state Capitol building this year, serving as a Senate Fellow as part of the Center for California Studies program. In January, he will begin studying for a master's degree in public policy from CSU, Sacramento.

After that, he's considering a law degree. Guerra will also continue to mentor his sister and brother, who are both engineering majors at Cal State Sacramento, and his mother, who is preparing to enter UC Davis to study child psychology. His sister, Vanessa, is serving her first term as the engineering representative on the Sacramento university's student board.

Guerra is more prepared than most 25-year-olds to sit elbow to elbow with a 19-member board that includes a who's who of California. He has engineering experience through a two-year internship at California Department of Transportation. He also worked his way up from a night janitor to building supervisor at CSU, Sacramento's University Union.

And as the Sacramento university's student president, he managed an $8.2 million budget for a student population of 27,000. But his supporters say Guerra's strengths are more than his job resume.

"He is always willing to listen to everybody's ideas," Pimental says. "He always puts his two cents into everything. He does his homework. He comes up with ideas and supporting ideas. He reads up and does his homework. You will never catch him unprepared."

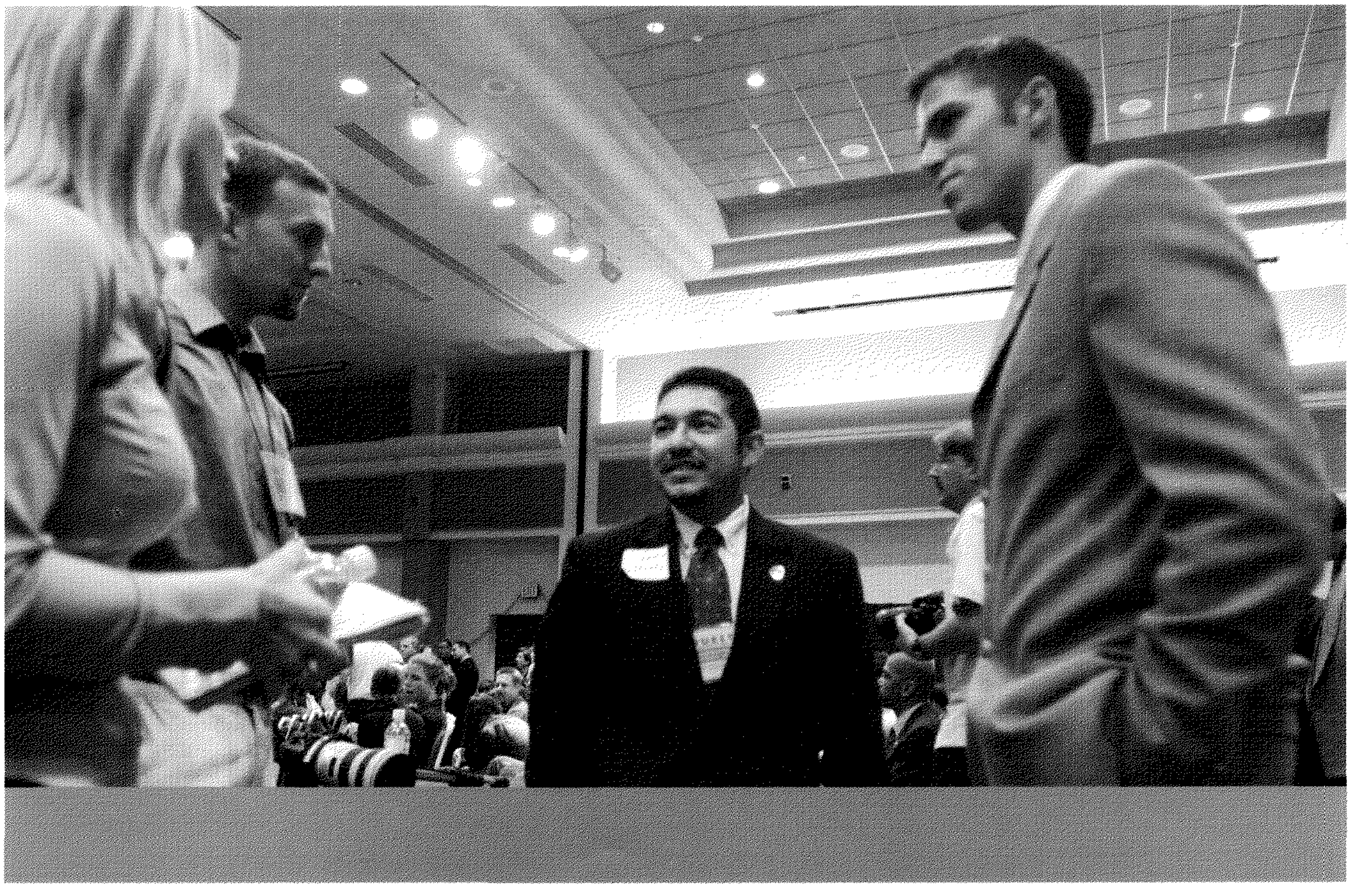
After his first anxious day on the CSU board, Guerra is long past worrying about parking and ready to face the issues — and the potential disagreements — with his fellow trustees.

This past year, Guerra organized student rallies and demonstrations at the CSU chancellor's office in Long Beach to protest student fee increases that eventually tacked on a 40 percent hike for full-time students. He says the state is reneging on its responsibility to provide a public education and that any fee increase should be to increase educational quality, not backfill the state budget deficit.

Although he was concerned that his vocal opposition would jeopardize his application for the student trustee position, Guerra questioned how effective he could be as a trustee if he couldn't represent the student perspective.

"If they don't want me to speak out, what good would I be?" he said. "I don't think the governor put me in there just to agree with everyone else."

Sylvia S. Fox is a professor of journalism at California State University, Sacramento. Send comments to **comments@californiajournal.com**



Arnold's promises

by Dana Wilkie

It came as a surprise last month when Arnold Schwarzenegger — on his first trip to the nation's capital as California's governor-elect — told Sen. Dianne Feinstein he would work with her to extend a federal ban on assault weapons and to close loopholes in the ban. It was even more surprising because the Republican movie star had been coy on the assault-weapons issue throughout the recall campaign. In fact, Schwarzenegger was remarkably accommodating on a wide range of federal topics that have for years proven partisan and controversial on Capitol Hill.

> [Schwarzenegger] may find it difficult to deliver on some of the commitments and sympathies.

When Rep. Ellen Tauscher (D-Walnut Creek) pointed out that White House spending on roads in coming years would shortchange California, Schwarzenegger "brought a staffer over right away and said we need to know more about this, we need to understand it," Tauscher said.

When Rep. Lois Capps (D-Santa Barbara) — who has 36 oil leases off the shores of her district — reminded him of his campaign pledge to prevent drilling by having the federal government buy back leases as it did in Florida, "he said when it comes to things like education and our environment ... there are many issues that are more important than" partisanship, Capps said.

And when a reporter asked if he would work with Feinstein to extend her assault-weapons ban, which expires next autumn, and close loopholes that allow manufacturers to produce "copycat" weapons, he said "absolutely."

Not only had Feinstein all-but-demonized the man during his campaign to replace recalled Gov. Gray Davis, but until then, Schwarzenegger aides had said only that the film star was for "sensible gun laws," including California's assault-weapons ban. As a candidate, he took no position on the federal ban's extension, or on whether copycats should be outlawed. The senator immediately e-mailed a word-for-word account of the conversation to every major news organization in the state. One sensed that Feinstein wanted to memorialize his commitment in case anyone — the governor-elect, perhaps? — forgot what he had said.

And one wonders if that might happen.

Schwarzenegger, who was in D.C. to bridge the partisan divide after an ugly and divisive recall campaign, at times seemed willing to say almost anything to appear agreeable. But in the long run, he may find it difficult to deliver on some of the commitments and sympathies he expressed during his visit.

If he really plans to work with Feinstein to close loopholes in the assault-weapons ban, then he has moved far beyond what most congressional Republicans and even the White House may be willing to do.

If he truly opposes a Bush plan that would double logging in the Sierra Nevada's 11 federal forests — which he says he does — he must convince the U.S. Department of Forestry to reverse course on a proposal Bush is poised to adopt by December's end.

If he wants Washington to buy back leases to prevent offshore oil drilling, he must convince Bush that California's situation is different from Florida's — which is what the Interior Department argued when environmentalists first called on Bush to replicate his Florida policies here.

If he wants to recoup the $30 billion that he says Washington owes California, he will have to convince Bush to fork over the cash from a federal government facing its own record deficit.

If he hopes to fight the Pentagon's coming round of military base closings — as he told Tauscher he would — then he needs to come up to speed quickly. Although the governor-elect "was responsive" when the congresswoman broached the Base Realignment and Closure process that Congress used in the 1980s and 1990s to close dozens of military bases, Tauscher had to explain to him what BRAC stood for.

Similarly, "he seemed to be very interested" in Congress' current debate on road funding, and a Bush proposal that would shortchange California roads and mass transit $10 billion in the coming five years. But he "did not know a lot about it," Tauscher said.

Clearly, there was an undercurrent of skepticism about Schwarzenegger's sincerity. Perhaps the biggest question is whether the new governor is willing to take on a president of his own party. Will he confront Bush administration policies to get what he wants? Can he stand up to a White House that in the past has opposed or ignored similar entreaties?

"Well, that's what we're waiting to see," said Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-San Jose). "And time will tell."

Dana Wilkie is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for Copley News Service. Comments may be sent to **comments@californiajournal.com**

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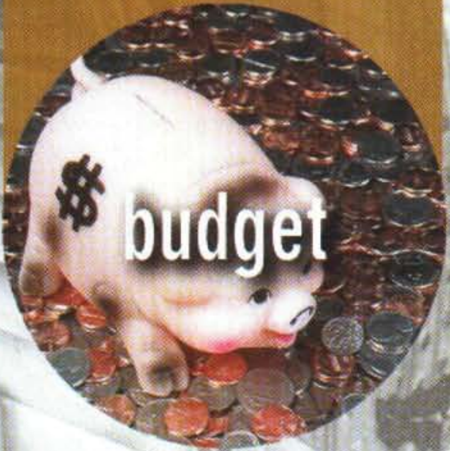

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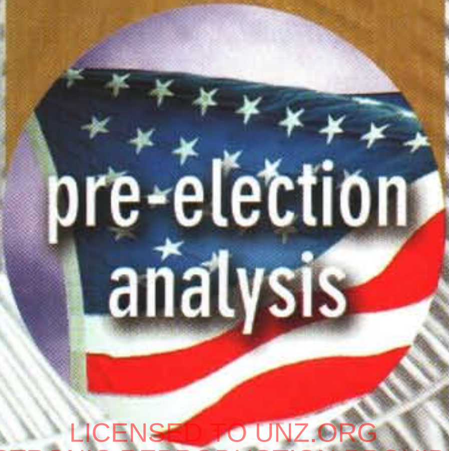
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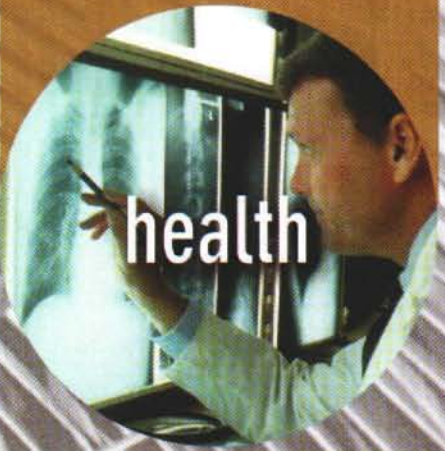

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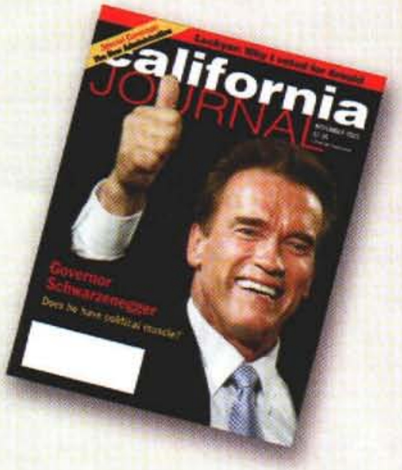
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